423 651 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale: Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 578 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of 000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 782 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

791 [134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[481] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

[578] Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

595 A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
578 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes. For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

428 The line of behavior followed by the Banyarwanda when it is
543 time to make a will shows that their social organization, /49/ though far from perfect, is superior to that of many other Negro tribes.

Hamites, Bahutu, and Batwa are anxious to express their last wishes clearly in order to leave nothing unforseen and in order to keep chicanery from creeping in among the heirs.

While alive the father gathers his children around him on a day he selects, or, if he wishes to lend more solemnity to the occasion, he goes with them to the hill chief and offers him a beer as an introductory gift. Among his male children, he appoints the one he likes best as his principal legatee, whether it be the oldest, the youngest, or any one among them.

The chosen son will succeed him in his role as head of the family to levy taxes on his brothers in the name of the king or of the Hamitic chief, and will deal with the latter in matters concerning the small group.

[578] A father may disinherit and curse a son who has given him serious grounds for complaint, who has not shown him due respect, who has insulted him, abandoned him in times of misfortune, or defected during legal proceedings. "May he bear no more children," he exclaims, spitting into one hand and then into the other. "You have behaved badly toward me. I cut you off from my family, I [539] curse you." (1)

1. Ntabyare! Ntaheke! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje!

As we have already said, the family property is divided into as many lots as there are boys.

The same holds true for the livestock, cows, goats, and sheep. Each son receives an equal share.

The executor of the will, as the eldest son or head of the family, adds a small field or a piece of a banana grove to his patrimonial share.

While his father is still alive, he usually receives a cow, called "obedience cow" (inka y'indabukirano) to confirm his authority

754 The sorcerers who are reputed to unloose insects and other pests over the crops are called by the name of Abahoryo, which means "baleful men."

Popular belief indeed goes so far as to lend them this occult power, which causes everyone to fear them.

They are believed capable of the most evil designs.

In view of this, they are avoided and shunned as much as possible.

The natives will avoid carefully all matrimonial relations with them. This would entail every evil including sterility, which is not the least feared among them.

These dangerous men are believed to cast the /443/ evil eye (guter' umwaku) and are placed in the same category as the members of the Abahenyi, Abatchaba, and Abungura clans, who inspire the [578] same mistrust and the same repulsion. Thus the name Abahoryo, "baleful men," is regarded as an insult by the Abahoryo themselves.

The bahinza of the Bgishaza province have always had the reputation of excelling in the exercise of these supernatural powers. What wonders are not ascribed to them! One of them as one tradition goes, was condemned to death for some misdeed or other.

While he was being led to the place of punishment, he resorted to his occult powers. Vultures, hawks, eagles, and crows flocked instantly from every corner of the sky, and descended with open beaks and claws upon the executioners and onlookers.

Filled with wonder, the Mututsi /Batutsi/ prince pardoned him.

Another time, two brothers from the same family quarreled over their sorcerer's birthright after the death of their father. When asked to interfere, the king decided that the position would go to the one who proved superior in skill.

It so happened that the dreaded caterpillars were devouring the sweet potatoes at the time. One of the men proceeded to exercise his art in order to do away with them. The other one used his power to act in an opposite way, and made them multiply without end. The caterpillars came out of the ground and covered the earth. "Now," he exclaimed to the monarch, "do you wish me to deliver you from them?"

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu). [578]

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [84] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

412

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

● 578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 857 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the hatware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

518 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

622 614 influence which can increase along with that of the outside conquerors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhuta, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara lwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 614 578 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

623 in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make
614 the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at
578 this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking ourselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

614 The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly
621 correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

643 656 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 372 687 778 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 643 775 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king. After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 578 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 551 644 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 644 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

625 The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
571 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

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586 691 587 837 *Instances*: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cat e paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country, first, by the ritual character of the royal power.

To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[8] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities from asserting their independence from the central government, was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[8] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

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superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

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At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside, often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The first one to be married into the household has in principle priority over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.